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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

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773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 [775] The cosmology of the Trumaí was not very elaborate. Many stars and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes wet it is almost impossible to fire.

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805 824 825 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy season.